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Georgia Lee, Ph.D.

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Alan Davis-Drake

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On Other Islands...

TROUBLE IN PARADISE

PROBLEMS IN POLYNESIAN ROCK ART
CONSERVATION

A Preliminary Field Report
from the 1988 Lana'i Rock Art Project

This year's August-September project to record the rock art of Lana'i, Hawai'i specifically focused on those sites most likely to be impacted by tourism. At present, there is only a small ten room hotel operating on the island; however, two large hotel complexes are scheduled to open next year.

Three of the island's major rock art sites were studied and documented. While work was in progress, on-going acts of vandalism pointed up the importance of conservation and preservation.

At Luahiwa, one of Lana'i's finest (and most accessible) petroglyph sites, we documented many large and complex panels of petroglyphs. Upon returning to the site two days later, we were horrified to discover that one panel had been vandalized; a petroglyph of a turtle was deeply pecked on the rock, completely obliterating the original ancient figure.

This incident however was only the latest in a

long and unfortunate history of petroglyph alteration on this site. Our study clearly shows changes made to petroglyphs that were photographed in 1921 by Kenneth Emory. Many figures have been changed by the addition of a variety of lines and shapes. At the location where Emory notes a simple hull-shaped canoe, we documented a full out rigger with a complete Hawai'ian sail (Figure 1). These deeply carved additions were unquestionably created with great effort and could not have been done hastily. At the moment we can only

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THE DESTRUCTION WROUGHT BY TOURISM

J. Douglas Porteous

In my book *The Modernization of Easter Island* (Porteous 1981), I note that academic interest in Rapanui has overwhelmingly concentrated upon archaeology and historical anthropology. Few seem interested in the recent history of the island, or its current social, economic and political problems. The Pinochet regime, of course, prefers this emphasis because archaeology is largely free of ideology.

Yet at least one aspect of modern Rapanui is in dire need of more research and application. This is therefore, a call for research on the destruction wrought by tourism and the search for means to prevent it.

All cultural artifacts exposed in the landscape are subject to destruction and damage. This can take place in a number of ways:

- 1 • *Natural erosion* will inevitably reduce or impair man-made objects. This might well be considered inevitable, with mitigation procedures regarded as inappropriate (a Celtic approach.) Replacement (as with the limestone carvings in Oxford) or plastification (as with proposals for the Arches National Monument) should proceed with due caution, if at all.

- 2 • *Quarrying* of ancient artifacts has always taken place. The Colosseum and other Roman and Greek ruins were regarded as quarries by builders of the medieval period. The "slates" of Orongo were extensively quarried when the Williamson-Balfour company ruled Rapa Nui.

- 3 • *Theft* is extremely common, and accounts for the contents of most European and North American museums. Were a tithe of artifacts to be returned from such museums, Hangaroa would have a museum to be proud of.

- 4 • *Archaeology* has been known to destroy, as well as to uncover.

- 5 • *Construction* of modern artifacts such as roads, airports and buildings may often destroy valuable sites.

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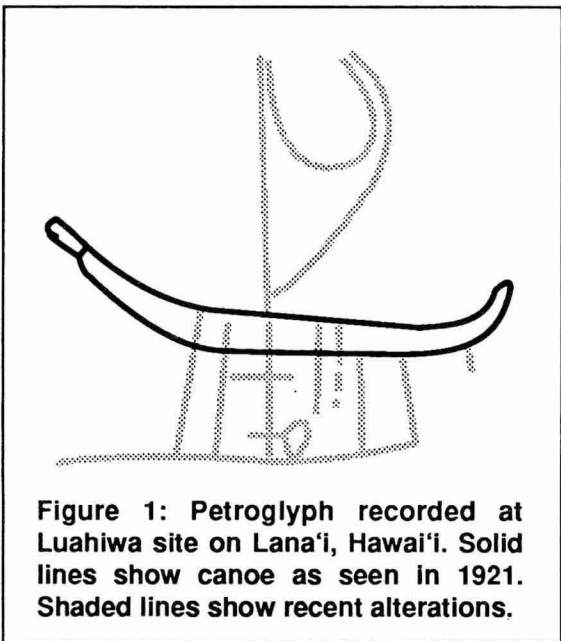


Figure 1: Petroglyph recorded at Luahiwa site on Lana'i, Hawai'i. Solid lines show canoe as seen in 1921. Shaded lines show recent alterations.

ON CONSERVATION

Nicholas Stanley Price, Ph.D.

Some of the following reflections appeared in a paper presented at the International Congress on Easter Island in 1984. Various recommendations based on the principles put forward here were made with regard to Rapa Nui in two unpublished reports (Stanley Price 1984, 1986).

An important distinction, in my view, is that between conservation and restoration. I suggest that *conservation* involves measures to reduce the rate of deterioration of cultural property, so that it continues to be available for study and analysis for the foreseeable future.

Restoration, on the other hand, involves re-creating, either partially or wholly, an image of the original state of the object or building so that it becomes more intelligible to the observer.

Various criteria have been proposed—and widely agreed upon—for evaluating conservation measures:

- 1 • that they should constitute the minimum intervention necessary;
- 2 • that they should be fully documented;
- 3 • that any treatment should be reversible, or at least that it should not rule out any different treatment in the future;
- 4 • that the materials used in conservation be compatible with the ancient ones;
- 5 • that conservation work should be subject to continuous inspection and maintenance thereafter.

The same criteria should govern restoration, but with the addition of an important requirement—that the restored areas be visible to close inspection and recognisable as such.

Put another way, once it has been decided that certain cultural material is worth preserving, *conservation* aims to maintain it in as

near its present state as possible, whereas *restoration* aims to allow the observer to conjure up an image of what its original state is thought to have been.

It is often debatable what that original state was, and so the responsibility of the restorer is a heavy one, in physically imposing his or her interpretation on cultural material. Restoration should therefore be an option requiring careful consideration as to whether it is justifiable or not.

Fundamental to the idea of conservation is respect for the historical and aesthetic integrity of the object. In other words, so that objects may retain those values that we ascribe them, no action should be taken that diminishes their historical significance and aesthetic appeal.

For this reason, all “intervention” on the object for purposes of scientific research and conservation must be the minimum necessary to achieve this end. This means, for example, when non-destructive analysis is not possible, the removal of samples of minimal size; it means the testing of alternative treatments on similar material of non-cultural origin (never on the original object); it means, above all, thorough documentation of every step in the process. In short, it requires a strictly scientific methodology.

Based on a strict scientific methodology and a historical awareness of the often conflicting values that are ascribed to cultural property, conservation has much to contribute to ensuring a future for the past.

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WORLD MONUMENTS FUND TO HELP RAISE FUNDS FOR WILLIAM MULLOY MEMORIAL RESEARCH LIBRARY

Following a meeting of its Board of Trustees in May of this year, the prestigious World Monuments Fund revealed that it would vigorously support efforts to raise money to build and to operate a research library to be located on Easter Island and named in honor of the late William Mulloy, the world-renowned archaeologist who restored several important *ahu* and *moai* on Easter Island during the 1960's and 1970's.

Besides contributing a generous “challenge” grant, the World Monuments Fund, a U.S. non-profit organization, has set up a Trust Fund to which tax-deductible contributions can be made. The WMF will help in the preparation of brochures and in the planning of fund-raising activities of various sorts.

The Mulloy Library Planning Committee is privileged to have Professor Mulloy's widow, Mrs. Emily Ross Mulloy as Honorary Chairperson, and Mulloy's good friend and colleague Dr. Carlyle S. Smith as Honorary Vice Chairperson. The other Planning Committee members include twelve eminent scientists, scholars,

and ardent “Rapanuiphiles.”

Serving on the Executive Board of the Library Committee are Don Sergio Rapu, Provincial Governor of Easter Island and former student of Dr. Mulloy; Ms. Joan T. Seaver, until recently the Vice President of the Board of Trustees of the excellent Museum of Natural History in Santa Barbara, CA; Dr. Georgia Lee, Research Associate of the Institute of Archaeology at UCLA; and Dr. William Liller, Assistant Director of the Instituto Isaac Newton of the Ministerio de Educación de Chile.

The goal of the Mulloy Memorial Library project is to raise a total of US \$500,000 which would pay for a new climate-controlled building, and provide sufficient endowment for the smooth operation of the facility. Approximately a quarter of this amount has already been raised or pledged.

As would have been Dr. Mulloy's wish, every effort will be made to employ only native Rapanui at the Library. If necessary, the project will provide professional training for individuals. The Library Committee strongly urges readers of the Rapa Nui Journal and their friends to make generous tax-deductible contributions to support this important program. Checks should be made payable to the World Monuments Fund and sent to their offices at 174 East 80th Street, New York, NY 10021. A note should be attached stating that the check is a gift for the Mulloy Memorial Library.

A Look Backwards, 1955...

A Small Pottery Scam

Carlyle S. Smith

It has been suggested that I present a detailed account of my personal experiences as one of the professional archaeologists on Easter Island in December of 1955. An attempt was made then to plant potsherds at Ahu Tepeu, in order to please Thor Heyerdahl who had asked if anyone had any old pottery. For his account and the identification of the personnel involved, the reader should consult the popular book Aku-Aku. (Heyerdahl 1958, pp. 99-101)

My account is an edited excerpt from my journal, segments of which were sent periodically to my wife, Judy, during the ten month long Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific in 1955/56. I have changed verbs to the past tense and have added a few words and phrases for clarification. Deletions have been minimal. Since 1956, I have returned to the island 13 times, and Judy has accompanied me three times. The island and its people fascinate us.

On December 4, 1955, an Easter Islander came to Thor to say that he had found pottery. Thor had shown people sherds from Peru in the hope that some might turn up on the island in support of his theory of raft voyages from the continent. The man showed us a few polished red sherds, all from the same vessel. They looked like plain ware from South America, suggestive of pottery I have seen from the Viru Valley of Peru. We were quite excited because the man told us he had found it at a ceremonial structure called Ahu Tepeu, a structure at which some of the stones were fitted in a way suggestive of the Andean manner (Smith 1961, pl 18, c.d.).

Thor said, "I wonder what Arne will say when he sees this."

I said, "He will say, 'Faen.' " (This is Norwegian for "What the devil.")

When Arne Skjølsvold saw the sherds, that was the first thing he said.

The next day we went to Ahu Tepeu with the owner of the pottery and five laborers. The man showed us a looted grave in the slope of the stone structure, saying that was where he found the pottery. We searched all over the surface of the structure and on the ground around it, but found no pottery, only chipped obsidian artifacts. Test excavations were carried on by having the men remove some of the stones covering the slope of the *ahu*. They uncovered two well preserved skeletons in a rough stone cist. Then, in another place, we found two grave vaults, one crude and the other carefully made, with a well fitted stone lid. Looking through the crack in the end of the vault, we could count nine human skulls and a mixed mass of other bones.

The next day I was assigned the task of investigating the site and went there with six laborers (Smith 1961, pp. 189-195, Fig. 52). Arne and Gonzalo Figueroa stayed in Hanga Roa to transact some business in the morning. I started test excavations in several places outside the walls of the *ahu* but no pottery appeared. At one place

there was a pit filled with stones and a mound of earth next to it. I had two men remove the stones from the pit (See Photo.) and then left one man to start digging out the earth in the bottom. I came back to see what he had found. He was troweling loose dirt in the bottom and said to me, "*Creo que yo he encontrado algunas cosas que el Sr. Kon-Tiki necesita.*" (I think that I have found some things that Mr. Heyerdahl needs.) Then the man troweled through the loose dirt a bit and picked up a very small red potsherd. It was exactly like that shown to us by the other person.

I called over our cameraman, Erling Schjerven, and we were excited about the find. Erling set up his movie camera and we decided that the event should be re-enacted for the movie. I said that it would be hard to explain to the man exactly what we wanted him to do. Meanwhile the camera was running to get pictures. The man then proceeded to find another very small sherd, as though he knew what was expected of him. We brought other men over to trowel through the dirt thrown out. When I was in the pit, minute sherds were found outside, in the loose dirt.

Sr. Ugarte, the manager of the sheep ranch, rode up on his horse and we told him what an important discovery we had made. He said he was headed for Cabo Norte, inspecting sheep, and would go to Vai Tea by way of Anakena to give the news to Thor. (Ugarte always spoke German to us because most of us understood it better than Spanish. He had learned it in school in Chile.)

After Ugarte left, Gonzalo and Arne appeared on horses. I shouted, "Get ready to say *faen* again, Arne. We have found pottery." They both showed surprise and replied that it could not be true because they had been informed by one of the woman in Hanga Roa that it was all a hoax and that people were laughing at us. The person had obtained the pottery elsewhere and had shown it to Thor as a means of getting a reward. It immediately became clear to us that he must have made an arrangement with our workers whereby they would 'find' pottery at the site to support the hoax. None of our workers would admit anything. We stopped digging for pottery and continued with the burials. With two fence posts, and the strength of all the laborers, we were able to pry up the well-made slab of stone covering the vault. We took photographs and made sketches. By then it was too late to do any more that day (Smith 1961, fig. 53 and pl. 19).

It was slow trip back. We had to walk over a mile back to the jeep and then drive about five miles over the worst trail you can imagine. In some places, the road went right across the ruins of stone houses shaped like boats. In other places we had to go into first gear over ragged lava.

Finally we reached Hanga Roa where we went to see Father Sebastian to tell about the hoax. He passed it off as just village gossip and could not believe that the men he had selected to work for us would actually plant the pottery for us to find.

We were not convinced, and headed back to Anakena, disgusted with the whole episode. It took a long hard drive of 45 minutes to cover the distance of some 10 miles over the wheel track that passed for a road.

When we reached camp, Thor and everyone were waiting for us.

We were about an hour late. They were excited and could not believe their ears when we said the whole thing was a hoax. There followed a long, rapid discussion in Norwegian between Thor and Arne. Thor so wanted pottery to be found to support his theory that he was not willing to accept either side of the case until he knew more about the situation.

Ugarte had come riding into the camp like Paul Revere, except that he must have said, "*Doktor Smith hat Keramik an Ahu Tepeu gefunden*," instead of "The British are coming!" This excited Thor so much that he ran up the signal flag to the ship, established walkie talkie contact, and informed them of the good news. It was also a sailor's birthday, so the gin and vermouth were broken out for martinis, Yvonne's specialty, in celebration. All was rather anticlimactic, after our arrival.

The next day Thor went with us to Hanga Roa, to confer with the Padre and the native workers. The Padre was still convinced that if anything was wrong, the workers were not in on it. Thor still wanted to get to

the bottom of the problem, but the men would admit to nothing. Instead of going back to Ahu Tepeu, we went to Ahu Vinapu, where Bill Mulloy was working. There our workers assisted in the raising of the body of a large red stone statue that Thor sees as being related to some around Lake Titicaca. He strengthened his case by pointed out that the nearby *ahu* has stone work remarkably like that of the Inca structures in South America. Each stone is carefully ground and fitted. He cited further support for his theory of contacts with South America in the form of a drawing of a reed boat with a sail at the Orongo site. In such a boat the Indians of the coast of South America, he said, made sea voyages. This is why he wanted the pottery find to be authenticated.

That evening Gonzalo and I proved to Thor that the whole pottery episode was a hoax. We had been able to fit some of the tiny sherds found at the site, to one of the large sherds owned by the man who reported the pottery in the first place. The joining was made at a *fresh* break in the sherds. Later we got support from Ed Ferdon, who found another man in Hanga Roa from whom the pottery had been obtained. It was from an old pot of unknown origin in his house. Gonzalo was convinced that the pot was made in modern times in a remote village in Chile where old crafts survive. Much of this pottery is available today on Santiago. So ended the pottery fiasco.

Addendum

After the above events took place, I found a source of excellent potters clay in a damp area in the talus on the west slope of Rano Raraku. This clay was used for dams in the process of making a mold of a moai, now standing, cast in plaster, in the Kon-Tiki Museum in Norway. I was also successful in making a small pottery vessel, which I fired. This suggests that if any women ever came to the island from South America in prehistoric times, they would have found clay and utilized it in the manufacture of pottery.

In 1963, I searched for pottery in the Marquesas. One of my workers at the site on Hiva Oa obliged me by 'finding' a potsherd, which he had made (Smith 1965). If there is a moral to all this, it is that archaeologist should be cautious about telling local, non-professionals what they would like to find. Polynesians are friendly and accommodating. It is part of their charm.



The excavation of the pottery "find" at Tepeu.
Photo courtesy of C. S. Smith

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Carlyle S. Smith, Ph. D.
Department of Anthropology
University of Kansas



A LAYMAN'S GUIDE TO RONGORONGO

An Historical Approach

Alan Davis-Drake

Part One of a Three Part Series: The European and American Discoveries—the 19th Century
(The Discoveries and Observations of the *Tangata Hiva*)



Graphic art has rarely reached such a level of perfection in any primitive culture.

—Alfred Métraux, 1957

Introduction

Rongorongo embraces a unique status in the history of Polynesia. Rapa Nui, Easter Island, produced the only known systematized "writing" in the Pacific isles: a series of neatly carved glyphs scratched on wood with a shark's tooth or a sharp piece of local obsidian. Whether or not *rongorongo* actually is "writing" remains the subject of debate, a debate as lively today as it was a hundred years ago.

What follows is a simple, historical essay parroting what various people experienced, contemplated and wrote when they encountered the ever elusive *rongorongo* script of Rapa Nui. The following is not a research paper. It is neither implanted with exacting references nor blazoned with incandescent ethnologic discoveries and insights. Instead, it is a series of fascinating stories, each echoing the reoccurring themes of post-European life on the eastern limit of the Polynesian triangle.

This essay was compiled by an amateur—for fellow armchair adventurers. For us, it will hopefully bring the inaccessible concept of *rongorongo* closer to life...

1864 and the Missionaries

The first reports of early foreigners visiting Rapa Nui did not express an awareness of the existence of actual *rongorongo* until the arrival of the first missionaries in 1864. Fifteen years before, a single wooden pectoral ornament, a *reimiro*, was reportedly seen on New Zealand. A meticulous line of unidentifiable glyphs could clearly be seen arching across its curved and polished flat surface. This *reimiro* marks the beginning of the *tangata hiva*'s,¹ the outsider's, unrequited affair with the unintelligible writings of Easter Island. Here the *tangata hiva* unwittingly begin their contribution to the loss of knowledge of *rongorongo*.

All possibility for learning the true and complete purpose of *rongorongo* was lost during the infamous years of 1859 and 1862. Raiders for the Peruvian slave trade captured all the important *ariki*—the clan leaders. Also captured were the *tangata rongorongo*, the *rongorongo* men, holders of the knowledge of sacred writing. With the captive Rapa Nui holy men and *literari* all working the guano fields of South America, there remained no living inheritors of that tradition on the island. The ceremonial formalities connected with *rongorongo* continued for a short while, but they were empty celebrations lead by a desperate people clinging to traditions they would soon no longer know. The surviving, unpracticed participants could not read the glyphs. They honored and revered the wooden boards, but stared at the sacred *rongorongo* like illiterate parishioners clutching hymnals in empty, outdoor church pews. Their religious leaders were gone.

If, after a few years of international protests, a few *tangata rongorongo* were among the small

handful of repatriated Rapanui who returned to their homeland with nothing but the accumulated diseases of their captors.

The religious scene on Rapa Nui would soon change. Brother Eugène Eyraud began with an uneven start in 1864. His first pathetic failure to convert the Rapanui is a lively story, which can be discovered elsewhere, but of interest here is his return in 1866—with Père Hippolyte Roussel. Concurrent with their inevitable success in building a mission, the grand gathering of *rongorongo* was also underway.

These missionaries are the first reported *tangata hiva* to actually see *koháu rongorongo*, or "the tablets" as they began to be called. At first, the missionaries showed no particular interest in the obscure boards. There were more pressing 'issues' to control. Still, through a familiarity with the day-to-day world of the Rapanui, the missionaries became increasingly aware of various odd carvings.

Once fully converted to the religious ways of their new "fathers," (a quick conversion by any missionary's standards) the Rapanui chose to show devotion to their new religion by collecting all their newly shorn hair² and weaving it thinly together into a single long cord. They wrapped this scruffy strand around a piece of wood and sent it off to Papeete as a gift to their new religious leader, Monseigneur Tepano Jaussen, Bishop of Tahiti. Beneath his newly acquired tangled mat of hair, the Lord Bishop of Axieri discovered a contrastingly neat set of hieroglyphs. One can easily imagine his wide-eyed wonderment upon seeing his first *rongorongo*.

Mgr. Jaussen immediately sent instructions back to his subordinates on Rapa Nui, ordering them to obtain more of these strange tablets. It became immediately apparent to the Fathers that certain peculiar items were highly prized by the locals. The Rapanui would in no way be persuaded to part with their precious possessions. The *koháu rongorongo* were almost unobtainable—with one exception. An unnamed, industrious Rapanui went right to selling Father Zombohn a perfectly preserved tablet. Soon afterwards, a

young boy found a worm-eaten fragment of *rongorongo* on a rock. He immediately gave it to Padre Zombohn. Other tablets reluctantly appeared. They were quickly collected as well—and were all obediently sent on to Tahiti.

Holding his proud new possessions, Mgr. Jaussen discovered Metoro—a Rapanui living and working there on the Brander plantation (Croft 1874). The Monseigneur was told that Metoro had been trained under a famous *tangata rongorongo*. Anxious to learn what the glyphs meant, he handed one of his tablets over to the Rapanui, who took up the piece of wood, turned it backwards and forwards, in the odd style required to read the glyphs, and began chanting. (More about this will be found in *Part Three*.) It has been suggested (Métraux 1957, Englert 1974) that Metoro was not truly conversant with *rongorongo*, and was not "translating" the text but was instead

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Rongorongo sample from a tablet in the National Museum of Natural History in Santiago, Chile.

simply expressing what he guessed the tablets depicted: "This is a bird," and "this is a man with a club" and etc. Not catching on, Mgr. Jaussen assiduously jotted everything down and proudly compiled a *rongorongo* 'dictionary.' Metoro's words were taken as gospel for many years afterwards.

As time progressed, an increasing number of foreigners found themselves shipwrecked on the inexorably named 'Island of Mystery.' Upon returning home, they told friends and associates of seeing on Easter Island unusual, "written" tablets. Whenever spoken of, *rongorongo* caused a stir. Was it possible for an uncivilized people to have made a leap out of the stone age? Did they do it on their own? Theories began to ferment—already both sensible and outrageous...

And as always, whenever outsiders made attempts to procure one of these presumably rare items, they were easily frustrated. The islanders would not part with their *rongorongo* as freely as they did other local sculpture. Evidently a sporadic tourist trade was forming even back then—but there were limits. Bargains were met for anything but the *rongorongo*.³

1870 and Captain Gana

Eighteen years before the island's inevitable annexation, a Chilean sailing class warship, the *O'Higgins*, landed on Rapa Nui in January of 1870. Where others had failed, Captain Gana quickly proceeded to stealthily obtain three *rongorongo*. Fortunately he gave two to the Chilean Museo Historico Nacional in Santiago, but the third he sent on to France; it never arrived. Casts were quickly taken of the two National Museum *rongorongo*, and copies were subsequently sent onto various museums in Europe. Whereas the English Ethnological Society was exceptionally interested in this strange new discovery, the copies sent off to Berlin lead professionals there to believe the originals had been used "as stamps for marking native cloth" (Thomson 1889).

Admiral De Lapelin visited the island aboard the *Flora* in 1872. He left with *rongorongo* aboard.

1874 and Mr. Croft (and Mr. DeGreno)

On 30 April 1874, an American in Tahiti, Thomas Croft, wrote a letter to the California Academy of Sciences in which he discussed *rongorongo* (Churchill, 1912). This letter gives us some brief insight into the the 18th century western world's first glimpses of *rongorongo*.

Croft gives a detailed report of his personal attempt at having the glyphs translated by an unnamed Rapanui. On their first attempt, Croft wrote down everything the man said. A week later, Croft discovered he had misplaced his notes and so persuaded the same man to do another translation. The man again gave his interpretation of the same tablet, this time in both Rapanui and Tahitian. As he proceeded with this second dictation, Croft became doubtful of its correspondence to the previous week's translation. Fortunately he found the notes of their first session and compared them. He saw two totally different interpretations. The following week, determined to uncover the man's rue, Croft once again invited the man to his house and persuaded the Rapanui to attempt a third translation. This final translation was for a third time different from the previous two. Unskillfully, Croft flared up in anger and accused the Rapanui of deception. He chased the 'fabricator' from his house.

Croft writes further of the experiences of a Mr. DeGreno from Sweden who was at the time living in Papeete. The previous year DeGreno was a passenger on a ship which sank as it sailed passed Rapa Nui. While DeGreno was for a few months stranded on Rapa Nui, he quickly became an

impassioned Rapanuiphile. For unknown reasons, when he first landed on the island, the islanders uncharacteristically showed him and his fellow shipwreckees a sizable number of *rongorongo*. The Rapanui decidedly expressed a reverence for the oddities and clearly indicated the value of the objects. He told Croft that he had met two old men on the island who claimed to have learned how to read and write *rongorongo* in their youth (Croft 1874).

Four months later, when he was about to leave, DeGreno tried everything he could to obtain at least a single sample. While he himself was not successful, the ship's Captain managed to somehow obtain two or three of the precious gems, which were immediately taken back to Europe. We do not know the methods he used to obtain them. One can safely assume he came forth with a sizable payment, either in cash or trade goods. These *rongorongo* followed the almost predictable fate of those entrusted into the hands of Captain Gana—they were never to be seen again.

1877 and the French warship *Seignelay*

1877 saw the end of Captain Dutroux-Bornier.⁴ Soon after the Captain's death, A. Pinart, a passenger on the *Seignelay*, visited Rapa Nui. He reported there were still *rongorongo* on the island but could obtain none. He saw them being used as cores for rolling up nets, fishing cord and as such, and he credits this as the sole reason for their preservation.

1882 and H. M. Gunboat *Hyäne*

Captain-Lieutenant Geiseler of the German Navy investigated the island for four days in 1882. He quickly prepared his report to the Chief of the Imperial Admiralty. Before leaving Germany, in preparation for his visit to Easter Island, Geiseler read two recently published observations on *rongorongo*.⁵ His own comments, published on his return in a supplement to the *Official Navel Gazette*, make interesting reading (Geiseler 1883). Although often vague and unsubstantiated, his notes are rich in hurried detail. He directed his observations to the director of the Ethnographic Department at the Kaiserliches Museum.

Geiseler briefly observed that the written Rapanui language did not belong to "a vanished people," but instead, to the people currently living on the island. This was in reaction to the growing belief that it was improbable

for the Rapanui themselves to have created the only written language in the Island Pacific.⁶ He established matter-of-factly that each "sign" was cut in wood with a sharp piece of "lava glass"—the same used to produce spear heads (*mata'a*)—and that each had a fixed meaning. Like other visitors during this time in the island's history, he gained his knowledge by

enlisting the aide of Alexander P. Salmon.⁷

Salmon questioned an unnamed "old chief" (Hangeto?) for Geiseler. The "chief" said that the Rapanui script was used for only two purposes: to send short, secret messages between chiefs in villages around the island (the messenger would therefore be ignorant of the writing) and to create genealogical lists of the ancestors which were written on *rongorongo* tablets. (Geiseler also personally saw the script on *rei-miro* 'breastplates'.) Salmon told Geiseler that only two *rongorongo* were still on the island and these were in the possession of "chief Hangeto," who was demanding an exorbitant price. Still, Salmon suggested these precious items could indeed be purchased for £2 sterling, but only after the *Hyäne* set sail.⁸ He could easily send them onto Tahiti and from there have them forwarded to Germany. Geiseler took the bite.

During the *Hyäne*'s short stay, Salmon apparently admitted to having no

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interest in learning the meanings to the *rongorongo* script, although, as was his style, he promised to quiz Hangeto after the ship's departure and forward his findings to Geiseler.

Geiseler himself presents a small, comical attempt at deciphering the "signs." His venture centers around the apparent representation of a "woman's vulva," and "the egg god *Makemake*." He also mentions signs to designate times of the year: a man carrying sea weed represents the season for sea weed gathering, while a fish on a line hints at the principle fishing season. Geiseler speculates that the symbols which indicate time were included in the chiefly genealogies to designate when an individual was born. The Captain-Lieutenant gives us no indication as to how he developed his method of translation, or if he had help.

He never obtained a *rongorongo*.

1886 and the U.S.S. Mohican

By 1886, the *rongorongo* race had been well under way. Seven excellent *rongorongo* were already in the curious collection of Tepano Jaussen, the Bishop of Axieri, Vicaire Apostolique of Tahiti. These *rongorongo* ranged in size from 14 x 10 cm to 168 x 18 cm.

It is ironic that the missionaries were to become active saviors for the unusual artifacts and the church their primary haven. Today there remain conflicting reports concerning the missionary view of *rongorongo*.

Before arriving on Rapa Nui, the U.S.S. *Mohican* stopped in Tahiti and the crew was given permission to photograph Bishop Jaussen's *rongorongo* collection. Upon his arrival on Rapa Nui, Paymaster W. J. Thomson, U.S.N., as all before him, met with the locals and the Rapanui once again sheepishly denied the existence of *rongorongo*. The current head of the island ranch, Alexander Salmon told Thomson that he knew there were tablets still hidden on the island, and implied there was something he could do to secure samples for the US Navy. Much planning and bargaining ensued. Two tablets were finally purchased, as Thomson states, "at considerable expense." One can only imagine to whom it was costlier. It is from this transaction and the incidents which followed that we gather what little we know of *rongorongo*'s purpose and eventual demise.

One of Thomson's *rongorongo* was made from *toromiro* while the second was purported to be made from a canoe piece which eventually became driftwood. (Cf Routledge section in Part Two.) These *rongorongo* still lay hidden in the United States National Museum in Washington.

The islanders explained to Thomson the reason for the disappearance of *rongorongo*: the missionaries had ordered all *rongorongo* to be burned, "with a view to destroying the ancient records, and getting rid of everything that would have a tendency to attach [the Rapanui] to their heathenism, and prevent their thorough conversion to Christianity. The loss to the science of philology by this destruction of valuable relics is too great to be estimated." Thomson was told that the great *ariki mau* Hotu Matu'a was a lineage holder of the *rongorongo* tradition. He brought 67 tablets with him when he settled on Rapa Nui. They contained "allegories, traditions, genealogical tables and proverbs" relating to his homeland. At that time, the *tangata rongorongo* came only from a select group: the *ariki mau*, the six district *ariki* and their sons, and members of the royal family—together with a special group of teachers and priests. The remaining islanders only came into indirect contact with *rongorongo* during ceremonies—in particular an annual ceremony at Anakena, during which time the sacred scripts were read aloud for all to hear. This was a unifying day for the entire island population; even at times of war the reading of the *rongorongo* assured a day of truce.

During his short stay, Thomson heard persistent rumors of an island

elder who claimed to hold knowledge of *rongorongo*. Gossip told that during the slave raids, this man, Ure Vaeiko, had been in training to read the glyphs. Thomson arranged a meeting, but tried in vain to obtain any information from the old man; even monetary bribery was fruitless.



Thomson reports that the man claimed to be too old to take any chances; he did not want to subvert his opportunity to enter heaven by reading a script now considered pagan. The missionaries had taught him well, or perhaps he had his own personal reasons relating to *tapu*. Whatever, under pressure, Ure Vaeiko quickly went into hiding, hoping to

avoid the issue completely. He wished only to disappear until the *Mohican* sailed away forever.

In a series of events resulting in what even Thomson himself described as an "unscrupulous strategy," Ure Vaeiko was finally cornered in his home and eventually acquiesced to relating at least some of the ancient traditions he had learned. He apparently found it rewarding to relate this soon to be lost information to a thoroughly enthralled audience, particularly after a few drinks. Where before he would not touch an actual tablet, he showed no object to "reading" directly from photographs of Bishop Jaussen's own personal *rongorongo*. And here is the key. If the Bishop himself owned them, reading them would be quite proper. Ure Vaeiko gave a name to each of the tablets and "read" each in Rapanui. Salmon, who accompanied the crew on almost all its interactions with the Rapanui, took notes which were later translated into English.

Thomson and company made no attempt to interrupt Ure Vaeiko's "reading," although it soon became apparent to everyone listening in that this Rapanui "was not actually reading the characters." The long night wore on. Finally, in the midst of a "reading" Thomson ventured an experiment. He surreptitiously substituted one *rongorongo* photograph for another and Ure Vaeiko, ignorant of the change, faithfully responded with exactly the same "reading" again. The crew immediately responded with unkind accusations of fraud. Finally Ure Vaeiko entered into a long rationalization, explaining the "value and significance" of the individual glyphs had indeed been forgotten, but there were specific indications on each *rongorongo* tablet which revealed which tablet it was. Each tablet relayed a specific legend. If you knew which tablet was which, you knew the legend it contained. One did not have to know how to read the glyphs to tell you what was on a table, all one had to know was the name of the specific *rongorongo*.

Thomson was soon able to verify this questionable assertion. He showed the same photographs to another Rapanui, one who claimed to be a relative of Maurata, the last Rapanui *ariki*. Fortunately, Katae identified specific *rongorongo* and related the identical legends previously dictated by Ure Vaeiko. An important piece of the *rongorongo* puzzle had been uncovered. It was not until 28 years later that someone would undertake to find more.

To be continued in forthcoming issues of Rapa Nui Journal...

Part Two will bring us into the 20th century and Part Three will contain information on where to find rongorongo, how to read and write it, and where to get help understanding it—that is, who is currently working on deciphering the glyphs.

Notes to Part One

1. Literally, in Rapanui, "man of Hiva," connoting 'person from another land.' Hiva was one of the many epithets for the homeland of the original settlers on Rapa Nui.

continued on following page...

2. Cut by the missionaries so the islanders would no longer appear heathen.

3. The first actual 'carving industry' did not begin until the late 1800's, when Alexander Salmon (see Note #7) organized repeated wholesale searches of island caves for precious 'sale items.' He enlarged his inventories by hiring groups of Rapanui to carve replicas of traditional motifs for his store. These practices prevail today, producing the same few, basic varieties of carvings—rongorongo among them.

4. Dutroux-Bornier was the initial representative of the Tahitian firm Brander. He settled on Rapa Nui in 1870 to set up a sheep ranch; he soon enslaved the population, manipulating them into driving off his personal adversaries—the Missionaries.

5. A. Bastian and C.E. Meinicke.

6. Unfortunately this "theory" occasionally appears in print today, perpetuated by popular authors who revel in the spectacular without having more closely investigated the reliable, opposing evidence. Such "popular" theories have been a staple of published writings on Easter Island, continuing to do a disservice to the serious study of Rapanui culture as well as to the Rapanui people themselves. (See further, Childress 1988.)

7. Alexander P. Salmon came to the island in 1877, to protect the sheep ranching interests threatened after the assassination of the infamous Dutroux-Bornier. Salmon, a half-Tahitian connected to the royal family there, quickly took an humanistic and cultural interest in the Rapanui. Both fortunately and unfortunately, he became our principle source of Rapanui traditions.

8. According to Geiseler, rare items such as these were sold only at a high price. At that time the Rapanui were mostly in need of clothing. The Brander Company Store's response was to sell trousers at £3 or 4 sterling—practically an unattainable sum of money. Salmon, of course, controlled the Brander interests on the island.

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LAVA AND VOLCANIC TUFFS COMPETITION

The Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos de Chile has announced a competition aimed at conserving the archaeological heritage of Easter Island.

For the purpose of this competition, papers may deal with lavas and volcanic tuffs from any part of the world but must address one or more of the following:

- 1) Deterioration: causes and mechanisms
- 2) Conservation: treatments, application methods and evaluating of conservation procedures

Papers should be written in either English or Spanish and all accepted papers will be presented at a meeting to be held on Easter Island in October 1990. Awards will be given to the five best papers. All accepted papers will be published.

Interested parties may obtain registration forms from:

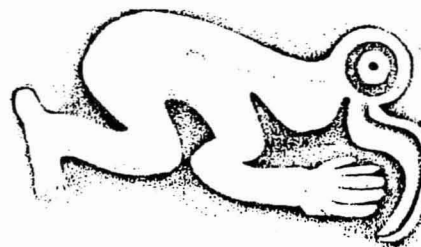
Dr. A. Elena Charola, Co-ordinator
Lava and Volcanic Tuffs Competition
Biblioteca Nacional, Depto de Museos
Clasificador 1400, Correo Central
Santiago, CHILE

Detailed instructions will be mailed upon request. The deadline is December 31, 1988.

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Trouble in Paradise... *continued from page 4.*

speculate on the reasons for such activity.

This is an unexpected kind of vandalism. Usually, vandalism entails inscriptions such as the hasty writing of names, dates, four-letter words, etc., as well as attempts to physically remove petroglyphs. This is usually done by visitors, but the type of alterations witnessed on Lana'i point towards local residents rather than casual tourists. These incidents bring to mind similar episodes on Rapa Nui and in the Marquesas.

On Easter Island in 1935, Lava-chery sketched a bas relief figure on a large *paenga* at Ahu Raai in the La Perouse Bay area. This figure is said to represent an *aku aku* spirit. Lava-chery drew the figure in its original form. Since that time, local residents have carved a head onto the figure, making it appear to be a turtle (Figure 2).

Vandalism to rock art is also evident in the Marquesas Islands—although not as prevalent. French Polynesia is geographically isolated and has received relatively little impact from tourism. Many of its sites are unknown or are difficult to reach.

Still, a chief's residence in Ua Pou has lately been vandalized with a chain saw in an attempt to remove several small bas relief figures. It has been said an islander sold the carvings to a tourist passing by on a private boat.

On Nuku Hiva, an irate islander cut the ears off a *tiki* at a site in the Taipee Valley. The reasons for this act are still unknown.

From historical records, we also know of another chief's residence on Hiva Oa, which was decorated with an elaborate row of *tiki*, today most of these carvings are missing their heads.

It was said that a previous owner of the land was afraid a western photographer was going to make enormous sums of money photographing the *tiki* and selling the negatives to foreign magazines. The islander thus destroyed most of the images.

Unfortunately archaeological field workers can unwittingly encourage the destruction of rock art. At the start of a field trip on Hiva Oa a team first surveyed sites in the Hanaiaapa area with the help of a local from the area. It became evident from close observations that certain figures in bas relief would be difficult to record. The subject was openly discussed.

When the surveying was complete, the team was shocked to discover a bas relief sharply outlined by a recent hand. This appeared to have been done by a local resident, thinking he/she would be helping the team by pointing out the distinguishing shapes of the figure in question.

Throughout Polynesia, innumerable examples of the destruction and alteration of rock art continues to be documented. The value of early drawings and photographs in determining changes such as these is inestimable. Without such materials, we would be left with only the end result, often ignorant of the true form of the original designs.*

Without protective measures, petroglyph sites will continue to

suffer. These ancient carvings are an irreplaceable resource—a glimpse into the mind and spirit of those long gone.

Polynesia has remarkable and extensive rock art sites; they deserve our care and protection.

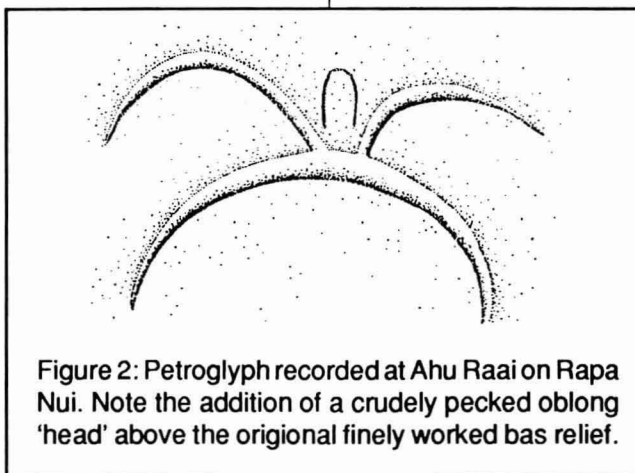


Figure 2: Petroglyph recorded at Ahu Raai on Rapa Nui. Note the addition of a crudely pecked oblong 'head' above the original finely worked bas relief.

While still working in the field, the Lana'i Recording Team discussed various preliminary recommendations for introducing measures to protect rock art sites. We share them here, in hopes of beginning an open dialog on the issue of preservation.

□ **Limit access to sites.** This includes constructing fenced areas with locked gates, as well hiring trained guides to limit entry.

Problems: This approach is often unsightly. Also, fences can present a tempting "challenge" to vandals, encouraging them further. It may draw attention to a site that

otherwise might not have been noted.

□ **Monitor sites.** The best way to prevent vandalism is to have someone watching.

Problems: This approach is very costly and is often unworkable, considering distances between sites in the same area. Multiple monitors would be needed.

□ **Create public areas.** Set particular sites or parts of sites aside as "special places." This includes constructing walk-arounds to direct traffic and posting low-profile signs requesting visitors to avoid certain areas, not to touch, walk on, etc. Helpful here also would be signs explaining the particular sacredness of the area.

□ **Keep sites clean.** Vandalism encourages further vandalism. It is important that sites be kept clean of debris, free of words, spray paint, etc. Creating the proper environment encourages thoughtfulness.

Problems: Any necessary repair work should only be attempted

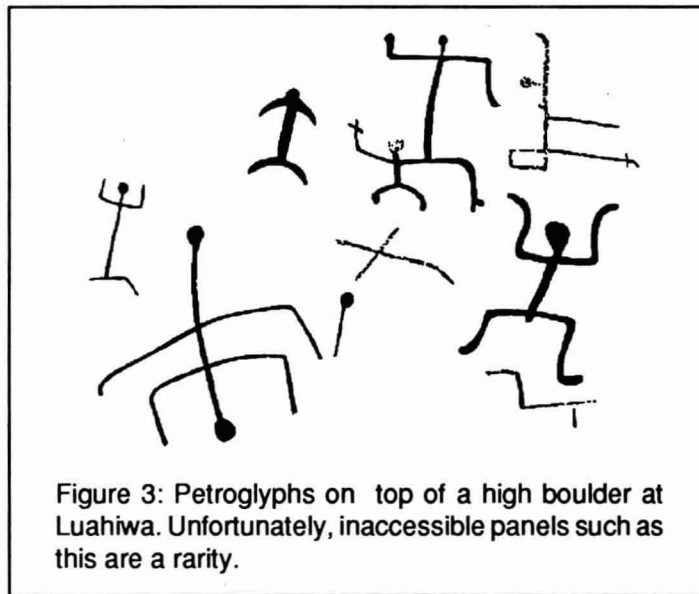


Figure 3: Petroglyphs on top of a high boulder at Luahiwa. Unfortunately, inaccessible panels such as this are a rarity.

continued on following page...

by professional conservationists.

- **General Education.** Education is the ultimate solution to this problem. Here the general stress would be on the sacredness of ancient areas, the ritual associations, heritage, etc. This can be introduced through school programs, public service announcements, etc. This includes the education of local adult citizenry.

Problems: It is difficult to reach the potential vandal or educate him. (One study shows the largest percentage of litterers and vandals are young males aged 17-28.)

- **Tour Guide Training.** Creating a reliable team of tour guides to sites is very important. They can create the necessary environment for producing sensitive tourists.

Problems: In their enthusiasm to please tourists, guides sometimes chalk or scrape petroglyphs to make them more visible.

- **Tourist Brochures:** County, state or government park brochures should stress proper behavior at sites. Producers of private, local brochures can personally be encouraged to do this as well.

*Petroglyphs in East Polynesia re-patinate within a few years, causing recent carvings to appear to be ancient.

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Alan Davis-Drake
Lanai City, Lana'i, Hawai'i



Destruction... continued from page 1.

• **Tourism**, however, threatens to become the major destructive force in the next century, as already witnessed in the Lascaux caves, the Parthenon and the fragile Arctic sites. Touristic destruction can take place in several ways. Simply by 'being there,' by walking over artifacts, tourists wear them away.

Visitors are also prone to chip pieces off, write on, or otherwise deface the monuments they pay so dearly to see. Tourists thus contribute to the wear and tear of monuments and to soil erosion around them. Encouraged by tourists, local inhabitants may also increase destruction by chipping off salable items, by excessive usage, by lack of care in exposing further sites, or by sheer vandalism. Not all the graffiti on the Rapanui *moai* are of visitor provenance.

Although earlier issues of the *Rapa Nui Journal* have noted some individual cases of tourist-related destruction, I am not aware of any full-scale study. Such a study would involve several phases, including: a) an historical survey of visitor impact on cultural artifacts; b) a study of current visitor impacts; and c) a plan for the mitigation of such impacts.

I would be interested in hearing from anyone who is currently working on, or is interested in working on, this problem.

J. Douglas Porteous, Ph.D.
Dept. of Geography
University of Victoria
P.O. Box 1700
Victoria, B.C., CANADA V8W 2Y2



Figure 4: Bird-like petroglyphs recorded at various sites on Lana'i. (Not drawn to scale)

THE GREAT MOTORCYCLE RALLY OF 1988

According to reports received from a number of islanders and printed in at least two opposition newspapers and one opposition magazine, on September 9 a motorcycle rally took place on Easter Island. Reports agree that from 50 to 60 of these machines participated as part of the centennial celebration of Chile's taking possession of the island.

It is still not clear exactly where the course was laid out. There seems to be general agreement that the route took the motorcyclists from Hanga Roa up the west coast through the Tahai area, around the North Cape, by Hanga Oteo and Papa Te Kena to Anakena. Afterwards they continued along the public road, turned into the Rano Raraku area, and returned to Hanga Roa. One island source states that at Hanga Reva (between Akahanga and Vaihu), the bikers turned inland and passed through Vaitea on towards Rano

Aroi, returning by Ahu Akivi and Tepeu and back down the west coast to Hanga Roa. However, a Chilean official gave assurances that the participants stayed on public roads at all times.

The newspaper, *La Epoca*, reported that the president of the Chilean Instituto de Ecologia, Mauricio Bravo, has spoken out in protest against the "Rally Enduro Rapa Nui." It is understood that (privately) several conservation groups in Chile and elsewhere and a number of concerned individuals have been in touch with the Chilean authorities, and they have made known their intense disappointment that such a potentially destructive event could have taken place in this unique open air museum. One person compared having a motorcycle rally on Easter Island to putting a discoteque in the British Museum or a roller rink in the Louve.

First reports indicate that there was no significant damage, but the article in *La Epoca* quotes the Instituto de Ecologia as saying that generally "these competitions are damaging zones of ecological value." If further reliable information comes in, *RNJ* will carry it in a future issue.

Corrections... from Vol 2, No. 2:

Please note the following omission, from the central portion of "Des Moai en Espagne!" Our apologies to the author, François Dederen.

Uniques a notre connaissance, dans toute l'Europe, ces deux cousins germains de Rapa-Nui, sont en réalité le résultat de l'amour insensé pour sa patrie et pour l'île de Pâques d'un natif de l'endroit. En effet lors du mondial de football qui se déroulait en 1982 en Espagne, Tony Pujador y Estany conçut le projet incroyable de jumeler la ville d'Olot avec Hanga Roa, capitale de l'île de Pâques, séparées par une distance de 20,000 km, soit la moitié de la circonférence de la terre.

Mais pour cela, certaines similitudes étaient nécessaires et indispensables pour la réalisation de cette folie, mais ce n'était pas cela qui manquait dans la région et pour n'en citer que quelques-unes vous apprendrez, si vous ne le savez déjà que:

- Les Espagnols, sous le commandement de Felipe Gonzales de Haedo, redécouvrirent l'île de Pâques en 1770, soit 48 ans après Jacob Roggveen et la baptisèrent San Carlos, (nom du roi d'Espagne). Par la même occasion, ils établirent la première carte officielle de l'île.

- Le parc de la Garrotxa est la seule région volcanique de toute l'Espagne identique à l'île de Pâques.

- La région d'Olot est la terre de prédilection des Moko, lézards qui se dorent au soleil à longueur de journée, comme à Rapa-Nui.

Les jeunes filles d'Olot jouent encore à ces jeux de ficelles, appelés communément Kai Kai au nombril du monde, et qui ont pratiquement disparu dans notre vieille Europe.

Il existe encore à Castellfollit une carrière de pierres, petit "Rano Raraku" local, dont les différentes espèces de roches et de tuf ressemblent à s'y méprendre à celle de l'île de Pâques.

En plus de cela, dans cette petite carrière, un phénomène naturel extraordinaire a voulu que dans un coin de celle-ci se trouve en profil la silhouette gigantesque d'une tête de moai tournée vers la gauche.

Mais les similitudes ne s'arrêtent pas encore là, puisque certaines familles s'appellent Mata, (pointe de lance en obsidienne) et que les têtes de certains lits anciens sont ornés de l'emblème des pères des Sacrés Cœurs dit de Picpus, qui évangélisèrent à partir de 1864, l'île de Pâques.

"Adama" Sans Ombilic

Seuls les sourds et les aveugles n'ont pu comprendre la motivation qui poussait Tony Pujador à faire ce jumelage dit impossible, mais c'était mal connaître cet homme exceptionnel.

Après bien des difficultés, et des démarches difficiles et laborieuses, mais aussi avec un bon sens et une compréhension remarquables de la part des autorités locales, la réalisation de cette idée put enfin être concrétisée. C'est ainsi qu'une délégation de 6 natifs de l'île de Pâques fut invitée, et se rendit dans la cité catalane.

Un authentique tailleur de moai réalisa avec l'aide des autochtones, notre géant de pierre, que l'on peut voir désormais dans une des artères de la ville...

Please also note in *RNJ*, Vol 2, No. 2, in Sidsel Millerstrom's account of rock art research in the Marquesas Islands, the height of the walls of the pit discovered by Jean-Louis Candelot were 2.81 meters and not 281 meters.

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What's New in Hangaroa

News from El Mercurio de Valparaiso

June 1988

Dra. Elena Charola, in charge of the Latin American Office of the World Monuments Fund, visited the *moai* from Easter Island that was taken to Viña del Mar in the 1950's. This three meter tall *moai* was taken from the south coast of Rapa Nui and installed in front of a hotel on a busy boulevard that runs along the coast. The 15 to 20 metric ton statue was deteriorating due to weathering processes accelerated by its exposed position. The statue has since been moved to the gardens of the Fonck Museum, Viña del Mar, where other important Easter Island artifacts are curated. It may be possible to treat the statue with conservation methods to halt erosion and consolidate the stone.

See page 10 for coverage of
the Great Motorcycle Rally of 1988

LETTERS

Dear Editor,

An article in your Summer 1988 Journal has prompted me to write. I am a foreign resident of Easter Island, married to a Rapanui and therefore have an intense interest in local events as well as some strong opinions.

First, it is appalling that just one month after the conservation meeting in Santiago, three statues at Rano Raraku were damaged, two of them severely. The castings by the German museum staff had been approved by the *Consejo de Monumentos* who were aware of the fragility of the stone. Yet permission was granted. One may well wonder why this permission was given, why there was no local supervision, and why the statues were cast simultaneously without first testing the process on an obscure piece of volcanic tuff.

The Germans claim that the residents of the island were publicly informed of their plans over radio and television. But were any of these taped interviews actually broadcast? Neither the residents nor the *Consejo de Ancianos* (elected island residents who work to preserve their heritage) were forewarned of this project. Their reaction was one of fury. The archaeological heritage of Easter Island is, after all, the collective heritage of all Rapanui and an irreplaceable world treasure.

I would like to add that at least 20 meters of the old sheep company wall from Tongariki was used for fill to provide bases for subsidized housing in the village. The stones used for the sheep fences came from nearby archaeological sites; many are *paenga* stones of boat-shaped houses. The *Consejo de Ancianos* has appealed to the governor to stop this continued destruction of yet another bit of Easter Island history.

Name Withheld,
Hangaroa, Rapa Nui

Dear Editor,

Through the attention of Mr. Christian Walter, a German resident on Easter Island of many years, we became aware of a statement by Joan Seaver, which might create a new anthropological myth if it remains unclarified. In her brief article on "Maria, Madre de Rapa Nui Revisited," she emphasizes the cultural importance of woman in the history or prehistory of Rapa Nui and gives the example of the "dream soul" of Haumaka's as being referred to in Barthel's work *The Eighth Land* (pp. 28 ff. German edition 1974, pp. 40 ff.) as "she" (p. 2). This induces... her to insinuate that the discovery of Rapa Nui by Haumaka or his "dream soul" was the accomplishment of a women.

As a matter of fact, Barthel's book is a translation from the German which is a language that, different from English, has three grammatical genders. Thus, the German "Traumseele" which corresponds to the English "dream soul" is feminine and hence referred to in German as "sie," i.e., "she." The translator of *The Eighth Land* did simply a bad job because he lost sight of the subject and translated mechanically "she" instead of "it." The thesis of Joan Seaver is therefore based on a mistake of the translator and must be rejected.

Annette Bierbach and Horst Cain
Köln, Germany

Joan T. Seaver responds...

Since Ms. Bierbach and Dr. Horst Cain have called for clarification concerning my "insinuation" that a woman, in the form of the "dream soul" of Hau Maka, discovered Rapa Nui, I am glad to provide it. Bierbach and Cain are correct in assuming that I relied on what appears to be a major error in the English translation of Barthel's *The Eighth Land*, for the gender of the "dream soul." Unfortunately they themselves are incorrect in referring to the erring translator, Anneliese Martin, as a "he." My intention was not to rewrite the legendary history of the island in citing references to women in Rapa Nui oral traditions. Rather, it simply was to demonstrate that from earliest times woman were perceived as socially significant. ☸

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